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I

I. THE PAWNEE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY[1]

FIRST PERIOD: TO 1833

The Pawnee enter the perspective of American governmental Indian affairs after the purchase of the Louisiana territory in 1803 by which their traditional territory, ranging from the Missouri indefinitely westward between the Niobrara River and the Arkansas, became a part of the United States. Lewis and Clarke, on their explorations of the newly acquired domain, met the Pawnee on the Platte River in Nebraska in 1804. In 1806, Major Pike visited the villages of the Kitkahaxki[s] band of Pawnee on the Republican fork of the Kansas River. But the first government treaties with the Pawnee were not concluded until 1818. At that time the four bands were politically independent of each other, and lived apart, and four separate treaties, embodying the identical articles, were drawn up at St. Louis. By these treaties the government secured for the American people the peace and friendship of the Pawnee, while the tribes acknowledged the "protection" of the United States. All past acts of hostility were to be mutually forgiven and forgotten, and future violations of the treaty were to be dealt with according to the laws of the United States. These objectives were further defined by the treaty of 1825 at Ft. Atkinson, at which time the government dealt with the Pawnee as one tribal or national unit composed of four federated bands. In this latter treaty the Pawnee acknowledged the supremacy of the United States, and the United States received the Pawnee under their protection. Specifically, the function of this treaty was to establish rules for the trade of the Indians with the whites, and to limit such trade to citizens of the United States. The Pawnee also gave a guaranty in this treaty that they would refrain from selling or trading arms and ammunition to hostile Indian tribes.

[1] The historical account which comprises Chapter I, as well as parts of the second section of Chapter II, and the last section of Chapter III, are founded on:

175* 648* 101 131 175* 648* [619] [113] [p. 1]

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The first period of Nineteenth Century Pawnee relations with the white man and the United States government begins with the first contacts following the Louisiana purchase and ends with the treaty of 1833. The population of the tribe during this time is open to dispute, as no accurate figures are available. In 1804, Lewis and Clarke estimated the tribe at 4,000, but they were unacquainted with the Pitahawirat[s]. According to these explorers the tribe had suffered terribly from a smallpox epidemic the previous year which had greatly reduced their numbers. Pike in 1806 gave a count of 6,223 for the same three bands. Major S. H. Long, who visited the tribe on his travels in 1819, estimated their number at 6,500, still without knowing the Pitahawirat[s]. The first government figure appeared in 1834, just after the treaty of 1833 brought an agent, Dougherty, in contact with the tribe. He numbered the Pawnee at 12,500. This figure was carried on the government records for years, occasionally displaced by the estimate of the

113 United States. Indian Affairs Office. Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington, 1824 to date. The series has been consulted throughout its entire run. Details of importance on the Pawnee begin with the report of 1837. Referred to in footnotes as Annual Reports.

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Where differences on dates and other important data have been encountered, the account presented has taken the information in the reports, year by year, as the final arbiter. All basic concrete data and interpretations are essentially restatements of source material; it has seemed unnecessary to introduce minute footnotes. Interpolated interpretations of the writer are few and obvious.

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down in the phonetic alphabet which he acquired in the course of his contact with anthropologists. He divided his recorded texts into single syllables, each comprising a consonant and a vowel and each syllable separated from the next by a hyphen and then placed an English word under each of these syllables. As I have already indicated, the Pawnee language cannot be translated into English in that manner. Any material will suffer some distortion when it is translated from one language to another, but the nuances of religious ideology are even more strongly effected by this process.

Murie's crowning effort to systematize the religion of his people was carried out under the direction and editorship of the late Clark Wissler, curator of anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. Together Wissler and Murie produced a voluminous manuscript of some 1560 pages. In view of the recognized inadequacies of Murie's Pawnee transcription and translation, in 1930 Matthew W. Stirling, then Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology in Washington, D.C., where the manuscript had been deposited some years before, commissioned me to retranscribe all the Pawnee texts contained there with the help of my Pawnee linguistic informants and to obtain a linguistically adequate translation. The texts were reviewed with my informants and translated with the help of my interpreter, Henry Chapman, in 1930–1931 in Pawnee, Oklahoma. The manuscript is now on deposit in the archives of the bureau. It is titled "The Ceremonies of the Pawnee," by James R. Murie, arranged and edited by Clark Wissler, 1921. Phonetic texts revised and translated by Gene Weltfish, 1930–1931.

The second most important source on Pawnee ceremonialism is: "The Hako: A Pawnee Ceremony," by Alice C. Fletcher, assisted by James R. Murie. This was published in the *Twenty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*. The author, Alice Fletcher, is listed in the publication as Holder of Thaw Fellowship, Peabody Museum, Harvard University. Miss Fletcher was a trained ethnologist who went into the field to work with the Omaha and Ponca Indians in Nebraska in 1881 when she was in her forties. She several times witnessed the ceremony of the peace pipe or calumet among these tribes and others in the area, but as a result of the death of the only man who could furnish her with an authentic account of the ceremony she searched among other tribes and found that an account of a comparable ceremony would be obtainable among the Pawnees. She then went to Oklahoma where she contacted Mr. James Murie and began the work which was done over a period of four years. The term Hako which appears as the title of this work is not the Pawnee name for this ceremony. The term means mouth, *aka'u*, and is the comprehensive term used to designate all the articles that belong to the ceremony. A number of other terms are used for the ceremony itself. The author decided to use this title as a convenient designation that could readily be pronounced by the English reader. The beauty of patterning and the intricacy of the structure of the ceremony are well represented, but the translation of the Pawnee texts is ludicrous. The bulk of the linguistic texts are the words of ritual songs. A great deal of this material consists of rhythmic syllables that have no semantic significance whatever with one or two simple words included among them. Often the successive stanzas consist in a repetition of these rhythmic syllables, the single words being re-

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placed by one or two others. The author translates these Pawnee texts into florid mid-Victorian-style English poetry, every meaningless rhythmic syllable receiving her attention with a new flight of fancy. It appears that she must have zealously pressed James R. Murie for translations of each syllable and no doubt liberally interpreted the terms he did give her. On his part, Murie must also have felt the need to press these texts into acceptable English poetry of the period. In any case because of these circumstances, The *Hako* can only be used very critically as a source.

The second anthropologist to work extensively with James R. Murie was George A. Dorsey, who did this work as part of a more ambitious project. Pawnee is one member of a language family, the Caddoan stock, of which there are three other major members—Arikara, Wichita, and Caddo. Dorsey procured mythology from the four different member groups of the Caddoan stock. Dorsey was Curator of Anthropology of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago under whose auspices the work was begun and then continued with the support of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C. He produced two book length publications on the Pawnee, *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee* ("American Folklore Society Memoirs," Vol. VIII), Boston and New York, 1904, and *The Pawnee, Mythology*, published by the ("Carnegie Institution of Washington Publications," No. 59), Washington, 1906. A body of unpublished material supplied to Dorsey by Murie remains in the archives of the Chicago Museum of Natural History. Subsequent curators at that institution have published from this source.

A series of pamphlets by Ralph Linton: *The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Leaflets," No. 5), Chicago, 1922; *The Sacrifice to the Morning Star* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Leaflets," No. 6), Chicago, 1922; *Purification of the Sacred Bundles, A Ceremony of the Pawnee* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Leaflets," No. 7), Chicago, 1923; *Annual Ceremony of the Pawnee Medicine Men* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Leaflets," No. 8), Chicago, 1923.

Alexander Spoehr: *Notes on Skidi Pawnee Society* (Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Series," Vol. XXVII, No. 2), Chicago, 1949.

While Murie was working in New York, he prepared under Clark Wissler's direction, *Pawnee Indian Societies* ("American Museum of Natural History Anthropological Papers," Vol. XI, Part VII), New York, 1914, pp. 545-644. Wissler very generously inhibited his identity from his publication, appearing simply as "the editor." He states that the work "was prepared by James R. Murie, a member of the Skidi division, under the direction of the editor who is in the main responsible for its form and limitations. Mr. Murie's method was to collect and write out in full such information on the several topics as could be secured. These notes were then made the subject of several conferences with the editor during which the present manuscript was prepared." The large manuscript on the ceremonies of the Pawnee as well as the manuscript material in the Chicago Museum of Natural History must have been prepared in a similar fashion. My own work with my informants on the manuscript, "The Ceremonies of the Pawnee," made it possible for me to limit the amount of material I had to gather on the formal aspects of Pawnee religion and ceremony

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and permitted me to concentrate on the personalities involved and the way they functioned within the pattern. Death claimed James R. Murie before my work began, and I never had the good fortune of meeting him. 114

In the years since the late 1930's I have read a great deal of material on the Pawnees. I visited the archaeological sites, read the literature, and consulted with the outstanding archaeologists in the field. I also worked with historical sources at the Nebraska Historical Society in Lincoln, Nebraska. In addition I have given considerable thought to a number of expanded horizons for our own future that are suggested through a consideration of the Pawnee way of life. I have listed a number of bibliographic items that refer to these different facets of interest, listing them under four categories—archaeological material, ethnology, historical sources, related subjects and theoretical questions. I will not make specific references to my text in connection with these publications as the presentation in this book represents a synthesis of all these sources along with my own. [22]

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